567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which ● 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
[184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵉⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkhar, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. [431] [178] 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. [583] 565 634 651

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live.

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death.

As the representative of the Kel Rela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public").

The vassal clans of the Kel Rela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows.– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Lonien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Rela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar

is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamontak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*.

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20–40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms.

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 431 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

	Age			*Colour*	
10	*tilgad*, or *chét awétay*	(one year old)	10	*tibeydegin*	(white)
10	*tilusin*	(2 years old)	10	*titlarin*	(mahogany)
10	*tekkenifadden*	(3 years old)	10	*tizeggerin*	(reddish)
10	*tiruyar*	(4 years old)	10	*tibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10	*chét essin*	(5 years old)	10	*tilemlarin*	(grey)
10	*chét okkaz*	(6 years old)	10	*tizerifin*	(metallic grey)
10	*timessedas*	(7 years old)	10	*timengelin*	(dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt*	(8 years old)	10	*tikewelin*	(black)
20	*tirégganin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerrafin*	(piebald)
			10	*tiwinarin*	(white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Ahaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 608 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[583] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves

[Text continues on p. 444] in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

582 431 Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

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567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

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582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekḳemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireǧenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebǧan* (sing. *ahbeǧ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*ẖakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *eseber*) plaited from the *afeẓu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerǧan*, sing. *aṛreǧ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaǧa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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5 wooden eating bowls (*tirha*, sing. *tarehut*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikassen*, sing. *akus*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*téŗirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tisukalin*, sing. *tesukaḥ*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*éŗir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefeŗ*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50×5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabroḳ*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*iheḍan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*akli*) or a slave-girl (*taklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Ṛali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp.

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ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

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(a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

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(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased

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583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iratimen* (sing. *ératem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[292] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
ténélét, a ring-formed pendant.
zakkat, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
tadnet (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
térewt (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

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The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:—

1 mat tent (*ẽhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*tsebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

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It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

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When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

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Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

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Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

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First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors. Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study

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582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

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[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
T
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

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582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

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585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[293] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

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585 young people of both sexes begin to drum and sing at a short distance from the wedding tent. They do that not only to amuse themselves but also to pay homage to the couple to be married. They continue to sing and drum until shortly before sunrise, when everybody leaves the place. Shortly afterwards the groom and the bride leave the wedding tent to walk back to their individual tents situated in opposite directions of the wedding place.

(5) In the morning at about ten or eleven o'clock the wedding tent is taken down to be erected again in a normal way at a short distance from the first place it was pitched. Care is taken that the sand-hill is left untouched; it is never touched by anybody and in time is obliterated by the wind. When the wedding tent is re-erected it is put up correctly like a normal tent with the sheet attached to twelve poles around the structure, and is provided with mats which are drawn around the lower part of the tent. However, the interior arrangement differs from that of a normal tent in that a long and very flat sand-hill known as *tuf-adebel* is made; it is very low in comparison with the first sand-hill known as *adebel*. This low sand-hill serves as the sitting place for the married couple, and is covered with coloured blankets.

(6) The veiled groom comes to the tent in the morning just before midday. He is accompanied by young men, but he is not now led by them, but walks in front of the procession. He enters the tent and sits down upon the low sand-hill. Friends and relations gather around him in the tent, but he avoids talking to them, or, if he does, then only in a low voice.

(7) In the afternoon the wedding guests arrange the ceremonial camel ride (*ilugan*) in front of the wedding tent so that the ride can be seen by the groom.

(8) Before the ceremonial ride ends at darkness, the veiled bride is led to the tent where she is placed by the side of the groom on the low sand-hill.

(9) The wedding guests sing, drum, and dance the whole night in front of the wedding tent.

(10) The guests leave the wedding place the next morning to return to their camps. If they have no avoidance relationships with the married couple, they will go to the wedding tent to say good-bye before they leave. The wedding feast is now over.

(11) The newly-married couple remain in the tent for seven days in all, during which period they leave the tent only to releave nature and preferably after darkness.

591 (12) When the seven days' stay is over the bride remains in her father's camp for about one year, and traditionally her husband should stay with her for that period. However, he will usually stay only part of this period in his wife's camp, returning frequently to the camp of his father. If the husband stays in the wife's father's camp for a year he has no obligations towards the members of the [583] camp. There is no bride service.

585 Among the Ayr Tuareg a wedding is known as *eduben*, or as *ehen*, and these terms are identical with those used in Ahaggar. From the latter term we see that the tent plays an important part also in the wedding ceremony of the Ayr Tuareg, but there are ceremonial distinctions as will be seen from the following description:—

(1) On the first wedding day relatives and friends arrive at the wedding place at the camp of the bride's family. The wedding tent is already erected. This is done in the normal way with the exception that the entrance is at the narrow end turning southwards, while a normal tent is always entered from

[Text continues on p. 474]